

THESE FIVE PUBLICATIONS BY ANTHROPOLOGY: 10

555 The term *na'alla* (nawla) is applied to the identification, usually immediately followed by the individual's name, whether in reference or in address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

554 These titles qualify the respect which is due certain persons, and the criteria for respect are varied authority and learning. The only other point which needs to be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the status to which they pertain. Of the three, *khawja* appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The title is very old, of course, whereas *na'alla* and *khawja* are new, and the use of *na'alla* is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

The table in the upper part of the *may'al* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shabih* sang many verses in numerous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedouin of the Unhappy period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Nuptial residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to females, weddings are attended only by those who are in-
vited: in this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and prohibitions have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Fagih (1932, pp. 296-97) writes in some detail of what he calls a *mark's battle*, of a verbal out, which takes place in Maronite mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mark's battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Genovist (1932, p. 42) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (ibid. p. 43). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese are so much to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either heartlessness or "depthness." By the same token, women in Lebanon are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo women's dance is a variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

g. [A newly married couple of the village--Analysis]

If we think in terms of kinship and marriage behavior only, the use of 'awwal for father-in-law and of *laila* to signify first cousin appear to be nothing less than the "masking" of kinship grammar or the result of some sort of linguistic inertia. It is not necessary to leave the matter at this, however, in the case of 'awwal.

'Awwal meaning father-in-law may have originated as an extension from "father's brother," but its continued use in Christian Arab culture is, in this context, a striking example of the conservatism of the Arabic language. The term and term of address used by a younger person to a man of his or her parents' generation, even if they are not relatives at all. Very frequently, in this use, the term is prefixed to the addressee's name. The usage is obviously not due to mistaken assumptions of kinship, nor is it a means of establishing fictional kinship. It is an honorific. Brenda Seligman (1923, p. 57) reports this use of 'awwal among the Bedouin Kababish, and she says that it is universal among Arabic speakers.

Jiddi (my grandfather) is sometimes addressed to a man so much older than the speaker that he seems like a grandfather, but the occurrence of this is not very common. ('awwal, "father's sister" and *aita*, "grandmother," are used analogously with women.)

Concerning this usage, a young adult informant pointed out that unless one uses a tribonymous form of address, 'awwal is the only way in which an older villager can properly be addressed. To use his name only, as to a contemporary, would be disrespectful. On the other hand, he said, it would be inconceivable to use such titles as *sayyid* (Mr.), *aita* (Mrs.), *amir* or *hakim* (dr) to a fellow villager of whatever age. These terms are used by the *shih* in cities and among strangers. They connote the formality of strangers and distance equally as much as, if not more than, respect.

It is not uncommon in modern America to encounter "uncle," with the individual's first name, used by younger people for very close friends of the family, to whom the use of the first name alone would be extremely because of great difference in age, but with whom "Mr." would be too formal. To a limited extent, the Arabic and American usages are analogous, but of course the extension of it in the former to include nearly every older person in the community is peculiarly Arabic. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that this particular usage in itself indicates a general conception of the entire village as a sort of kinship unit, but nevertheless it is important to note the use of a kinship term in definite preference to a formal title among the villagers.

We may now consider three kinship terms whose functional significance is clear and, in one case, rather important. All three are affinal terms.

The first is *shaf*. This term is used by women only, and it is a reciprocal term. Two (or more) women are *shaf* to each other when they are married to brothers. In addition, each *shaf* refers to the other's husband as *shaf* (the masculine form of the word). This term seems to serve the function of giving reciprocal

501 and properly here, for the proposed use of *ammanin*, *gammil*, and *gammilman* terms by their respective informants is not more likely by their use to be taken likely in interpretation. These proposed usage are, it would seem, clear evidence of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the situation which is handled by the logic is the intense unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the proposed use of these familial terms is, "functional," and so on. Viewed in terms of a semantic system, however, the usage turns out to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

502 One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Mansi, the use of personal names by direct addressing parties and by correspondence addressing each other is more frequent than the use of native kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTTERNS

512 The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousins. In Mansi this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

[52] There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own minimal lineage. In Mansi, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the minimal lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the minimal lineage are close relatives, and it is a poor idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The informant mentioned the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance was denied. Lineage mates are all close relatives, mentioned kin, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

512 513 At the present time, one's particular minimal lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's minimal lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 9 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, minimal kinship, between the members of eighty-four married couples in Mansi. Closest degree of relationship is specified because many of

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It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily accepted, cannot be assimilated without some major social adjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western *manners, customs, and concepts* which *cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate*. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

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At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance in Mansif, is summarized by Kurani, "... the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 163).

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In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. Here is one treasure that the Westerners, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which most Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool; it is a source of everyday pleasure and inspiration; and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

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Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are countless verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Preferably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it is the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the tool of stinginess." (Kilbany, 1916, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great difference in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

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In Mansif, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defenses, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.